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Most on-going research on the U.S.-Mexican Border region is in the major content areas of political structure and urbanization, disaster relief, law enforcement, and self-identity studies. Political interaction contrasts the centrally controlled power structures of Mexico with the more complex economic and social structures of the United States. Disaster relief studies reflect the impersonal welfare structure of the U.S. compared with Mexican kinship-oriented assistance. Studies of legal enforcement reveal that coordination between the 2 countries is effective through personal relationships and informal agreements rather than formal legal procedures. The newly-arrived immigrant faces an acculturational conflict between the informal kinship system of Mexico and the formal bureaucratic structures of the United States. Comparative studies must be translated into concrete programs if opportunities for self-betterment are to be provided to our Mexican neighbors and to Mexican-American citizens. (JH)

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COMPARATIVE STRUCTURES AND ATTITUDES ALONG THE U.S. - MEXICAN BORDER*

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COMPARATIVE STRUCTURES AND ATTITUDES ALONG THE U.S. - MEXICAN BORDER*

If social scientists wish to use the U.S. - Mexican Border region as a laboratory for the comparative studies of human behavior, the various dimensions of the term "U.S. - Mexican Border" must be defined, the criteria made explicit, and the generalizations concluded from one dimension must not be indiscriminately applied to a dissimilar situation.

As a <u>geographical region</u> it comprises the political entities of Mexico and the United States as a contiguous land area from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. Within this context the Border region is theoretically presented as two separate political-economic-language systems in juxtaposition along an extended, common national boundary.

Another approach to the Border region is to regard it as a single entity of its own, a separate <u>cultural milieu</u>---differing from both the United States and Mexico in its heritage, traditions and social structures (not to mention its language--Border Spanish). Some experts view this as a dynamic process of assimilation of Anglo and Mexican peoples and heritage. Others point out that the maintenance <u>in perpetua</u> of the traditional Anglo superiority-Mexican inferiority relationship is a necessary component of the Border culture. Still other scholars see this unique cultural milieu as a medium for cultural pluralism--a place where art forms, music, literary contributions and the like might be spawned, practiced or enjoyed on an equalitarian basis.

An expanded and tangential definition of the U.S. - Mexican Border focuses on the <u>Mexican-American people</u> regardless of their present

location, as a synonym of Border life. Thus problems of Border peoples might include the Mexican American-Anglo relations in the Denver public schools; or the ecological distribution of Spanish Speaking groups in Los Angeles slums. It might deal with Texas migrant families picking Michigan pickles or cherries, or Idaho sugar beets and potatoes or it might deal with majority-minority population ratios in San Antonio, Texas and still be considered "Border problems."

A further dimension to research on the U.S. - Mexican Border is the distinct historical antecedents of many of the contemporary border communities and cultural groups who are often mistakenly placed in a single historical category--foreign immigrants. Some of our Mexican-American hamlets along the Rio Grande are older than the Independence of the Lone Star Republic by more than two centuries. The Anglo Westward colonization of this country is to them "recent history." The accidental settlement site for a family along the Rio Grande gave one family Mexican citizenship and their friends on the opposite bank American citizenship, the latter by a declaration in a strange tongue and a foreign political allegiance. Some early Spanish-American settlements with community property rights conferred by Spanish land-grants were destroyed by Anglo Saxon legal codes, and the disenfranchised landholders were relocated into highly undesirable, unproductive land. Still other towns were formed by a steady immigration (both legal and illegal) of Mexican citizens, from whence the second generation could relocate to interior cities with the dream of steady work and economic independence. Even the atypical tribal groups, the Tigua Indians of Ysleta, Texas and the Yaqui Indians of Southern Arizona are rare "cultural islands" constituting the Border region.

Various theoretical and methodological orientations used to conceptualize the properties of the Border culture might be considered another dimension. There are the atomistic (micro-structure) vs holistic (National Character) comparisons, synchronic (contemporary comparisons) vs diachronic (extended temporal) designed research, or studies emphasizing the static elements of the region as opposed to research emphasizing the dynamic nature of the area. Many arguments among Border experts arise from attempts to interpolate their findings from one field research to another without regard for these theoretical and methodological distinctions. Furthermore, the level of social analysis-whether it be the diad, family or the complex national structure-and the emphasis upon the formal structure as contrasted to the informal structures operating within the system, will need to be considered prior to a synthesis of empirical Border research.

In summary, certain types of limited analysis can correctly regard the U.S. - Mexican Border as a distinct homogeneous region. However, more precise and objective scrutiny reveals it to be a conglomerate of social and cultural strains having vastly different historical antecedents, traditions and conceptions of self-identity. These differences are lightly veiled by a thin veneer of shared cultural traditions historically accumulated in the consensual experience of day-to-day living in the complex Border milieu.

Historical Antecedents of Current Border Research

The Border region per se initially was ignored by the earliest social scientists (ethnologists) who bypassed the "adulterated" Border communities for the "pure" primitive peasant villages uncluttered

by modern civilization and Western culture.[1] Not until World War II and the decade which followed did single social scientists (predominantly sociologists) make sporadic intercultural studies of the peoples in the Southwest and along the Border.[2] When in 1950 the U.S. Census Bureau issued separate tables of characteristics for the Spanish Surname population, many valuable demographic studies were published[3] showing these characteristics on the U.S. side of the national boundary. These were of great assistance to subsequent Border projects although the latent effects of such statistical categorization may have been to reinforce the stereotypes of the Mexican-American as poor, uneducated, diseased and overproductive in child bearing. Upward-striving Mexican-Americans with Spanish Surnames were thus incorrectly identified with statistical averages. In any case, these sources are too vast to be treated within this short essay but their arbitrary exclusion should not reflect a lack of importance of their contribution to an understanding of the Border region.

In 1954 the first specific scientific project exclusively for the study of the U.S. - Mexican Border was outlined by Charles P. Loomis and funded by the Carnegie Corporation.[4] Various studies initiated by that project will be cited throughout this essay.

At this present time a half-dozen major Latin American Institutes seem to dominate cross-cultural studies in the various Latin American nations[5] but it is a rarity to find any one of them focusing specifically on the U.S. - Mexican Border area.[6]

Recent Civil Rights protests and the awakening of various Spanish Speaking groups seeking economic and land redress have encouraged

additional research of this minority, not only in the geographical Border region itself but in any urban center containing a significant sub-community of Mexican-Americans. It will be crucial to arrange these studies in some systematic form for use by all serious Border scholars.

The Comparative Method Approach

The comparison of social structures and attitudes from two distinct nationality groups such as the U.S. and Mexico is neither novel nor is it revolutionary. It is but the extension of the comparative method pioneered by the social anthropologist coupled with the latest refined instruments and procedures of modern sociology. Radcliffe-Brown, generally regarded as the precursor of present comparative studies in social anthropology and sociology wrote:

> It is only by the use of the comparative method that we can arrive at general explanations. The alternative is to confine ourselves to particularistic explanations similar to those of the historian. The two kinds of explanations are both legitimate and do not conflict; but both are needed for the understanding of societies and their institutions.[7]

Durkheim, the father of modern scientific sociology, further clarified this:

> Comparative sociology is not a particular branch of sociology; it is sociology itself, insofar as it ceases to be purely descriptive and aspires to account for facts.[8]

A recent writer in comparative sociology suggests that the Radcliffe-Brown approach, dominant from post World War I to about 1950, is now being challenged by a newer structural school which emphasizes the comparison of logically deduced models of distinct societies rather than the comparison of content culture per se.[9] Previous methodological battles between approaches-- "trait" vs "holistic" advocates-- seem to

be ignored by the possibilities of a merger of computer science with typological models reflecting quantitative indices.[10]

Apart from any scientific contribution to be made from comparative studies, Kluckhohn suggests it as a necessary training device for the emerging scientist himself. He suggested that the studying of societies other than our own

> enables us to see ourselves better. Ordinarily we are unaware of the special lens through which we look at life. ...students who have not gone beyond the horizon of their own society could not be expected to perceive custom which was the stuff of their own thinking. The scientist of human affairs needs to know as much about the eye that sees as the object seen. Anthropology holds up a great mirror to man and lets him look at himself in his infinite variety.[11]

Although this emphasis was recommended for the study of primitive societies, his Values Institute at Harvard carries on the comparisons of contemporary U.S. cultures[12] in the tradition of its founder and pragmatically illustrates the fruitful application of these same principles to our modern complex society.

Seeking to demonstrate the utility of applying these comparative methods to the U.S. - Mexican Border region, we will briefly discuss ongoing research in four major content areas. The studies chosen were selected for the clarity and rigor of design, for their applicability in demonstrating a comparative level of analysis, and for significant scientific import to stimulate scholars who have interests in the Border region. A heavy bias is evident toward sociological studies reflecting the authors familiarity with materials close to his own discipline. The four major content areas chosen are: 1) Political Structure and Urbanization; 2) Disaster Relief; 3) Law Enforcement; and 4) Self-Identity studies.

Political Structure and Urbanization

A cross-national classic in Border studies is the D'Antonio and Form[13] analysis of the power elite in El Paso, Texas, compared to those in its sister city of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. The authors conclude that the Mexican city reflects a more monolithic, centrally controlled power structure than does the U.S. community.[14] No civic program in Cd. Juarez is initiated nor legitimated with any degree of success without the implicit or explicit sanctions from officials in charge of governmental resources. In contrast, El Paso reflects a more diffuse economic and social structure with its myriad of voluntary associations diffusing the decision-makers throughout the system. These extra-legal organizations initiate, legitimate and very often complete many programs of social or community betterment completely outside the formal resources of government.

The influentials who operate within these two structures across national boundaries differ equally as much as the structure in which they operate. The Cd. Juarez elite are usually educated in the U.S., can speak English well, and are generally very knowledgeable regarding the source of Mexican-U.S. linkages with a very objective view of this relationship. The El Paso influentials do not look to Mexico for any of their values, intellectual challenges nor ideas, but rather have "worked out a modus vivendi with the city [Cd. Juarez] but had not internalized much of the Mexican culture."[15] The U.S. influentials as reflected by the Border city officials were ethnocentric and generally not sophisticated in both the Anglo and Mexican values. Hence, when interaction across the Border occurs within this political context, not only must the Mexican assume a deferent position because of the

economic and technological superiority of the United States but also because of the inability of the American influentials to understand the social institutions or cultural values of any other society than their own.

If these conclusions are valid, it appears that the vast majority of "Cultural Understanding" weeks and "Good Neighbor" programs are conducted as a facade to conceal the social and cultural processes actually operating across the Border which Americans do not understand and are even less concerned about; while their Mexican counterparts accept the superficial show with tongue-in-cheek, understanding the Anglo's necessity for self-deception better even than the Anglo influential understands it himself. This disclosure could provide a clue for the failure of many so-called "multi-lateral" assistance projects sponsored by the United States and unilaterally carried out among our Latin American neighbors.

Problems of urbanization on both sides of the political boundary appear to be strikingly similar. This is probably due to the common dysfunctions of rapid population increases, urban congestion, poverty in the slum areas, and the difficulties of providing the growing suburbs with the necessary utilities and institutional services. However, these problems are manifest in very distinct patterns. Whereas the deterioration of American cities tends to follow the zones of transition in the city center, Latin American cities have immense slums developing on the periphery of the city called jacales, villas miserias, colonias or barrios marginales.[16] Since the basic function of the city itself in Latin America has a far different history than that of the U.S., the patterning of slums would likewise be expected

to vary a great deal. Western European cities were a movement of economic energies away from extractive pursuits toward those of processing and distribution whereas the Latin American metropolis is the source of energy and organization for the exploitation of natural resources.[17] In addition, Cardenas[18] has pointed out the limited power arrangement of the Mexican municipio being an extended organ of the state political system in contrast to the relative independence and self-initiative characteristic of the American city. It is quite obvious that programs designed specifically to assist the U.S. city ignore these basic structural and functional differences and are less applicable to the problems of the Mexican municipio. It is ironic that U.S. - sponsored development programs with the underlying philosophy of U.S. municipal administration, might actually force the Mexican urban area to mirror its U.S. counterpart, thereby divorcing itself from its Mexican coordination source and creating a greater political vacuum than before. To assume that the plight of Mexican border cities is only the lack of economic resources to carry out urban change of the U.S. - type is a fallacy.

Now turning to political studies concentrating on inter-cultural relations on one side of the Border, the focus will be on the acculturation process and the immigrant adjusting to the bureaucratic structures of our urban institutions. A comparison of second generation Mexican-Americans in the U.S. with recent arrivals from Mexico showed an amazing difference in their rate of participation in these formal structures. The newly arrived immigrant perceives the process of involvement with formal organizations as an attempt by the

middle class Anglo majority to manipulate him.[19] His familiarity with the informal kinship system through which he achieved his basic needs in his Mexican culture is not conducive to launching into personal involvement with formal-type organizations in the U.S.

Further studies dealing with Mexican-American social mobility indicate that the shedding of lower class traits, not the relinquishing of traditional Catholicism and its corresponding ethnic values, was most directly related to successful upward mobility.[20] Implicit within these conclusions is that programs aimed at elevating the Mexican-American minority to a higher socio-economic level is more effective with second generation Mexican-Americans who understand how formal organizations function. But even more important is that these programs might accomplish their purposes more effectively without assaulting the Mexican-American's ethnic traditions, including the Spanish language. Within this context, suggested programs for dual language training in primary grades to familiarize the student with U.S. social structure from the relative safety of his own language seems a feasible program.

There is inherent danger in stripping an immigrant group of their old values to dress them in the ideals of their new country of residence. If the delicate attachments with the past familiar culture are forceably disconnected to insure a more rapid socialization into the prevailing U.S. patterns, two potential problem areas emerge. First, the chief socialization agent to accomplish these changes will be the educational institution which is not geared to operate according to the traditional Mexican kinship standards. Reactions against the socialization process by Mexican-American youth are

misinterpreted by teachers, administrators and counsellors untrained in cross-cultural value orientations. To them, the Mexican-American non-conformist reflects "gang behavior" whereas the Anglo youth are merely experimenting with adult values.[21] The second problem is much more serious and may become deadly to the entire system if not recognized. The presence of a strong Mexican cultural tradition allows the Mexican-American a familiar base of operations, complete with rules which he understands and with rewarding personal associations to which he is accustomed. When and if this traditional culture is placed off limits without his having mastered the new roles and standards within the American system, he is caught in the frustration of anomie - unable to retreat and without the social skills to move ahead and compete in the newly joined U.S. society. Without the stabilizing background culture, a break with the past calls for desperate measures. Without any culture to risk losing, open rebellion, revolt, and violence seems a welcome alternative to the continued emotional isolation of anomie. Violence in our U.S. society appears to have occurred among those who adopted our culture but were restrained from gaining the benefits from it. The lack of violence among Mexican-American groups might well be the risk of losing even their present culture if activist protests fail. If the pattern noted among Mexican-American slum youth in San Antonio is correct - that they are breaking with the past[22] - this is the necessary prerequisite for activist movements and even violence if they find all other channels closed to upward mobility within their American society.

Because of the diversity between the various cultural groups

contained within the Spanish Speaking category, a single formal alliance of power has been absent. The liaison between these groups seems to have been the thin veneer of ethnic pride and tradition. Likewise, the development of strong personal leaders has been retarded due to a structural-functional consideration revealed in a minority leadership research in a bi-cultural community.[23] This study indicated that the emerging Mexican-American leader who reflects the informal procedures and lower class values of his subordinate minority is personally unacceptable in the social world of the Anglo influential. As this ethnic leader becomes more educated, mastering the language, dress and etiquette necessary to operate within the Anglo system, he gains the acceptance of the dominant Anglo leaders. However, becoming accepted by the Anglo power hierarchy is the kiss of death to his ethnic constituency which has felt further and further removed from him with his new "Anglo" attributes. Thus, at the very time when he is able to do the most personal diplomacy for his minority group, he is rejected as their spokesman and is replaced by another rising militant from their midst to begin the cycle over again. Perhaps the greatest hope for their voice in the formal structure of the larger society will occur when the new generation of Mexican-American, educated and sophisticated in the workings of formal government, will band together and will in turn marshal support from informal kinship liaisons to complete the two-step unification process. This alternative offers little encouragement for solutions to problems through present adult minority leadership.

Because of the unique situation of the Border being a perpetual

source of Mexican immigrants, the acculturation process will be a perennial problem. Moreover, the sporadic successes of Mexican immigrants creates one of the major problems of the Border region; the exploding squatter colonias composed of families fleeing from impoverished Mexican hinterlands toward the area of economic and social opportunities - the Border. The greater the contact between U.S. technology, culture, and the American way of life, the greater the motivation to migrate toward the Border communities, even with the disease, squalor, oppressive birth rates, and lack of utilities and schools.[24] A study of bracero workers exposed for a harvest season to the U.S. illustrates this attitude change. After returning to the lower strata of his peasant village, the bracero pressured his own children to either seek ways to rise to a higher level within the community or to immigrate to the United States in hopes of greater opportunity for social and economic advancement.[25]

Even reverse immigration (U.S. citizens who change their citizenship to Mexico) tends to leave the poor and destitute in the U.S. A pilot study of a limited number of citizenship changers reveals that those persons changing their U.S. citizenship for that of Mexico are from the social and economic elite classes, who because of family property, business or political opportunity will become Mexican citizens to live in "the other Mexico- the elite class."[26]

In summary, cross-national comparisons demonstrate the dissimilarities in the social and political structures on each side of the national boundary. Moreover, Mexican immigrants acculturated within the informal kinship systems of Mexico are loath to participate in the formal, bureaucratic structures in the U.S. Second generation

Mexican-Americans show less problems in dealing with these formalized procedures and to them might be left the decision of which route to follow to gain ascendancy - to enter and manipulate the present Anglo dominated system or to become militant for a form of cultural pluralism. Each approach has its rewards and its consequences.

Disaster Relief

The twin border cities of Eagle Pass, Texas, and Piedras Negras in Mexico suffered a devastating Rio Grande flood in 1954. This situation provided an excellent comparative study of behavioral reactions to catastrophe and the role of traditional social structures and dominant values in dealing with the holocaust on both sides of the border.[27] Clifford[28] found that in Piedras Negras there was less integration of formal and informal groups engaged in relief activity inasmuch as the populace depended more upon kinship ties than upon voluntary relief organizations for aid. Material goods offered from U.S. relief sources were presented in such a manner as to threaten the dignidad of the Mexican representatives and were habitually refused since acceptance would reflect Mexico's inability to provide for its own people.

In Eagle Pass, not only were the pre-disaster values of operational efficiency and neighborhood or community participation acceptable but all kinds of assistance from voluntary relief agencies was expected and utilized wherever possible. Such a study points out that relief of any type administered within a cultural context wherein familistic, traditionalistic and informal orientations are dominant are not easily articulated with bureaucratic, efficiency-oriented relief structures. Border emergency relief or simple welfare projects

which rely upon American operational procedures will be suspect as illustrated by the reactions above. A subsequent inter-ethnic study regarding the dispensing of disaster relief to Mexican-Americans by Anglo-dominated voluntary organizations showed the reluctance of the minority group to accept Anglo help.[29] Given the choice, the Mexican-American family would accept inadequate housing and a bare subsistence food ration in the house of a friend or kinfolk rather than assume the dependency role within the Anglo-dominated relief agencies with their well-balanced meals, hospital aid and physical comforts. The Anglo volunteer worker's reaction to this "irrational choice" of the Mexican-American further illustrates the intense minority stereotypes of "an ignorant, ungrateful people who cannot accept assistance graciously." It was concluded that the manner in which the aid was extended and the social relationships extant between the giver and receiver were more critical for accepting relief aid than the quality or quantity of the goods and services offered by the Anglo relief organization.[30]

Law Enforcement

A cross-national comparison of legal enforcement systems in Mexico and the U.S. reveals wide structural-functional divergences between the two.[31] In the U.S., law enforcement is articulated through a bureaucratic structure not only at the national but also at state and local governmental levels as well. Appointments of law officers to service is legitimized through some competitive form of civil service qualifying examinations or its equivalent. In contrast, the Mexican law enforcement agencies are a reflection of the highly

centralized political system and are simply an extension of the personal political leaders with personal loyalty being the sole criterion of appointment to service. It is simply a "spoils" system. The vertical coordination of the three governmental levels in the U.S. is done through traditional integrative techniques such as the doctrine of "dual citizenship" enforced and implemented through federal and appellate courts. Voluntary municipal-county or multi-state agreements are ratified and the specific liaison machinery inaugurated to coordinate these activities is not usually removed by a new incoming political party. By contrast, in Mexico the federal, state and local enforcement structures, procedures and officials are almost completely insulated from each other except for the strong personal loyalties at the apex of each of these power structures. It is not unusual for the local "boss" to be indebted to the State political administration for the proper governmental support which brought him into office in the first place. Thus, while the U.S. legal coordination is done through the <u>systematic procedures</u> of the system, the Mexican coordination is done through the <u>persons themselves</u> who run each of the systems.

This dissimilarity in the type of social structures responsible for legal enforcement on each side of the national border presents extremely serious problems in coordinating activities and pooling resources to prevent "sanctuaries" for lawbreakers to "raid" the foreign neighbor. After repeated failures at achieving formal coordination of the U.S. bureaucratic structure and the highly personalize, non-standardized procedures of the Mexican system, effective cooperation was attained through personal friendship ties

and informal loyalties between specific enforcement officials from each country. For instance, the greatest single Border violation of the legal codes is that of car thefts. The formal channel to handle this problem is an antiquated Senatorial agreement with the Republic of Mexico signed in the mid 1930's. The practical approach of handling these modern problems forces the abandonment of such archaic structures and the implementation of workable coordinative efforts between the lower echelons of enforcement officials where the actual problem must be resolved. The greatest problem emerging from this informal means of resolving legal violations is that after an election installing a new Mexican politico (and his friends and kinfolk are given positions as law enforcement officers) those informal working arrangements between U.S. law officiers and Mexican officials of the previous regime are lost and new friendships and agreements must be cultivated for future liaison. With the low wages inherent within the spoils system appointments, access to a power position of legal inforcement is a means to exchange personal favors of "expediting the red tape" in return for some voluntary remuneration (mordida) which forces a direct undermining of the universalistic orientation necessary for a future civil service type operation. Likewise, the U.S. officers are forced to obtain "informal petty-cash" financial sources to effectively reimburse cooperating Mexican officers for their trouble. Since it cannot be traced nor accounted for, it tends to strain the U.S. system of checks and balances if carried to extremes. Funds so expended must be "overlooked" as a matter of standard operating procedure for continued articulation with the Mexican system to be maintained.

An informal "winking" at the legal statutes regarding "Juarez

maids" in the United States is a similar solution to a Border-created problem. Formally, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of the Department of Justice has legal statutes regarding permanent immigrants, policies controlling commuting workers (Green card holders) and short term visitor permits (Blue card holders).[32] INS official denial that illegal "blue card" holders are working in El Paso is released simultaneously with published accounts that the INS picks up an average of nearly 300 "illegal maids" per month and rescinds their blue cards.[33] Unofficially, the INS estimates the number of illegal workers in El Paso as about 15,000 average during the year.[34] There is a demand for inexpensive domestics among the El Paso homemakers and even the low earnings of a maid is often the only income of a squatter family in the Cd. Juarez colonias, so it is economically advantageous for both parties. A small survey of maids in a five block tract of northeast El Paso revealed that in 38 homes answering the door, seven maids were encountered of which five were illegally in the U.S., one had legal papers, and the legality of one was questionable.[35] This is corroborated by unofficial estimates from border workers and officials who cannot issue formal statements to support these data. It appears that strict legal interpretations of regulations along the Border are bypassed for the functional informal agreements which have underscored the successful functioning of two dissimilar cultural systems for centuries.

Recently in El Paso a select committee on Western Hemisphere Immigration met to sound out opinion regarding a Senate bill proposing restrictions on the flow of alien commuters. This hearing overlooked the local informal handling of Border problems and mostly recorded

official responses to the present formal statutes (which are rarely used to handle border problems). They likewise overlooked the fact that the commuter problems to which they were directing their attention could be legally enforced under existing statutes if local folkways were commensurate with the statutes. Legislation from Washington D.C. and Mexico D.F., does not appear to form an effective basis for workable social, economic and political intercourse across the arbitrary national boundary. Formal proclamations seem to be functional only as protocol rituals for superficial pledges of mutual help and understanding while the real procedures are worked out through the informal systems.

The Border area problem of prostitution must likewise be controlled and regulated through informal agreements. Such delicate matters with their potential economic and political repercussions must be discounted in formal declarations but controlled through informal, unofficial working arrangements.[36] In the U.S. prostitution regulation is linked with the moral desires of middle class functionaires to control all extra-marital sexual promiscuity, particulary among the lower class. This is accomplished through the quarantine powers of health officials for venereal disease irradication. These quarantine powers are sometimes delegated by health officials to law enforcement officers as well. The more affluent members of the society are thus immune from quarantine procedures inasmuch as their venereal disease problems are handled through consultation with a private physician. Juarez prostitution is provided primarily for U.S. patrons, particularly tourists and military personnel, and represents a major source of governmental income. It was outlawed in Juarez following WW II but

the demand for sexual diverson by American clients increased the number of illegal, non-regulated operations causing venereal disease rate to skyrocket on both sides of the border. A pragmatic approach to this problem was an informal arrangement between political, military, health and law enforcement representatives of both sides who could never admit such arrangements in a formal statement of official policy. Meticulous V.D. controls and routine testing of prostitutes was instigated, This was actually "planned prostitution" operating on a non-official basis but with informal support of all parties concerned. Only in this way could regulations be imposed to reduce V.D. inasmuch as legal proclamations had no effect upon the sexual patterns of prostitution.

In the early 1950's a notable change regarding the income from prostitution in Mexico occurred. Whereas prior to that time this illicit income went into the private bank accounts of influential individuals, it is now diverted into official government coffers for expenditures relating to the public good.

Dope addicts who use Juarez as their supply point are frequently the object of vehement official pronouncements by Mexican officials. However, informally the 200 known U.S. dope addicts residing in El Paso peaceably cross the international bridges several times daily or weekly, signing an addict roster before entering Mexico and signing in upon returning after having satisfied their appetite.[37] In this way, some control of dope suppliers and pushers can be gained by identification and periodic checking of the known addicts.

Due to the lack of restrictions on selling various forms of narcotics to minors in Tijuana, Mexico, the City of San Diego imposed an extra-legal border restraint upon unescorted minors at the city

limits bordering on the Tijuana access.[38] No effort was made to deter this "illegal restraint" providing an informal means of handling a problem which was not enforceable through the formal statutes extant. In various realms of law enforcement problems along the Border, it appears that maximum regulation and control occurs through the unofficial arrangements corresponding to existing Border folkways rather than through the formal official channels which reflect the legal statutes set up to regulate them.

Law enforcement and differential ethnic treatment of offenders is another comparative study which offers a great deal of promise for instigating corrective measures. A well researched study by Koeniger[39] tested the "color blind" aspect of disposition of criminal rapist cases. Examining the cases of all convicted rapists in Texas courts from 1924-1967, it was determined that Mexican-Americans have shorter sentences, draw fewer death sentences, and have more jail sentences commuted than either the Negro or the Anglo offender convicted of this crime. Could this be the result of the traditional condescending attitude toward this "dependent" minority which has so effectively undermined their ethnic pride. The persecution of Negro rapists, the punishment of Anglos who know better, and the leniency of the child-like Mexican-Americans appear to follow the stereotypes attributable to each group by the dominant society. This hazardous extrapolation of the conclusions is extremely tentative and would require much more serious study than has been possible for inclusion at this time.

Self-Identity Studies

Self-identity studies require the analysis of subjective attitude

responses from individuals as a predictable guide to patterns of behavior. Very few Border cross-national studies of this kind are familiar to this writer, but the many studies done of the Border people, the Mexican-Americans, can raise some of the questions of greatest promise for future Border research.

One cross-national comparison of student attitude and images from Northern Mexico and U.S. Universities was recently conducted by a team of psychologists and linguists.[40] Their methodological problems of comparing the two institutions highlight the single greatest difficulty of cross-cultural research-- finding cultural equivalents for social symbols of one society which are equal to those of another. For instance, attitude scales used for the U.S. students when converted literally to the Spanish language were somewhat meaningless. Common U.S. terminology such as "natural sciences" (logically translated to sciences naturales) had no literal meaning for the foreign students. Likewise, the distinct structure of the Mexican University devoid of social activities, dormitory life, and athletic competition as compared to that of the U.S. University[41] produced a methodological nightmare in validating the measuring instruments themselves.

In the same sense, temporal eras differ in their perspectives, and the historical interpretation of terminology and symbolic meanings of behavior in past epochs without a thorough knowledge of the structural-functional variations extant at that time might well result in distortions of the original meanings.[42] Even the terms we currently use which are common-place to us within our own cultural milieu such as Freedom, Student, Communist, Christian, or American might differ in their usage from nation to nation and group to group.[43]

Scholars have coined a plethora of terms to make distinctions between the various sub-groups composing the Spanish-Speaking category: Spanish Surnames, Latin American, Spanish Speaking, Mexican-American, Spanish-American, Tex-Mex, Chicano, and others (with or without hyphens).[44] It is apparent that stereotyping them as a homogeneous group is unscientific, but the demands made by each scholar for the Universal usage of his particular term is frequently based upon familiarity with a rather limited number of sub-communities comprising the heterogeneous category of Border inhabitants.

Many normative attributes ascribed to the Mexican-American make distinct empirical studies <u>of</u> this group and <u>toward</u> this group very difficult. Less well known but as crucial are the deep-seated images and attitudes of Mexican-Americans toward Anglos. Both of these orientations are clarified by a study of mutual images and expectations of both Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans based on research by Simmons[45] in a Lower Rio Grande community. Anglo-Americans assume that Mexican-Americans are their potential equals, but profess them to be currently inferior. Various unverifiable rationalizations are used (i.e., regard them all as unclean, druken, sexually immoral, listless etc.) by the Anglo-Americans to perpetuate themselves in the superordinate position and to relegate the Mexican-American to a morally inferior status position. Such views of the minority group by the dominant Anglos makes the <u>status quo</u> palatable and just.

Stereotypes toward Anglos by Mexican-Americans are similarly unrealistic and inconsistent, being primarily defensive rather than for justification as in the case of the Anglos.[46] Anglos expect Mexican-Americans to become "Anglicized" and to eventually compete with Anglos

in the dominant social structure on an equalitarian basis, whereas the Mexican-Americans aspire to full equality and acceptance without giving up their traditional way of life; a type of cultural pluralism.

Parsons[47] has brilliantly conceptualized the processes involved in changing an "in-group's" expectations. He suggests that the definition and position of the "out-group" including the patterns of behavior ascribed to it are prime criteria for the self-image of the "in-group" itself. Therefore, a reluctance to change a group's perception of another group might not be a desire to perpetuate injustice but rather a fear of the changes within the self-image of ones own group which would be caused by a radical shift in definition of "out-groups" in relationship to ones own "in-group."

The stereotype of the dozing Mexican taking his extended siesta is too well known to need documentation here. Currently many OEO and similar type programs are designed to raise the motivations of minority groups so that they will aspire to higher goals than those which the program leaders assume them to currently possess. Recent research in this level of motivation and aspiration reveals a sharp contrast to prevailing stereotypes of the non-aspiring Mexican-American. A study comparing the aspirations of Mexican-American youths with Anglo-American youths revealed no significant difference in motivational patterns. Mexican-American boys, for instance, not only had realistic goals of possible future attainment (occupationally these were lower prestige professional and blue-collar skilled positions) but their expectations of actually achieving these goals coincided very well.[48] Mexican-American youth had a stronger intensity in their desire to reach their goals than their Anglo cohorts, but were more uncertain

than the Anglos in being able to attain their expected educational status.[49]

Comparisons of inter-generational attitude changes within the Mexican-American group reveal some marked shifts from the traditional values of the parents by their children. A comparison of aspirations and criteria for self-identity between male youth and their parents[50] concluded that the parents emphasized self-mastery and obedience as the most salient core values of their culture whereas their sons chose helping others and hard work as most important. Parents and sons agreed that the two most important indicators for self-identification were language and family name. It was not surprising that parents, remembering the fight for citizenship ranked nationality high but their sons, born with U.S. citizenship thought it unimportant. Sons emphasized skin color very high while parents ignored this criterion. Neither group thought that religion was crucial to self-identification. Significantly, both groups felt that Anglo-Americans use the same criteria for identifying them as they use to identify themselves. If this intergenerational disparity of core values and self-identity persists, past research on Mexican-Americans must be up-dated to maintain validity.

Comparing Mexican-American slum dwellers with their Negro or Anglo neighbors, Ramirez[51] concluded that the Mexican-American has a higher self-rejection rate than either of the other groups living in poverty. He further claimed that they see the Anglo school as a threat to their group rather than as an aid toward upward mobility. Finally, the traditional explanations of low class values or a poverty culture do not explain away many of the values held by them which can be traced to their Mexican-American heritage.

In summary, various types of comparative studies have been perused to illustrate their utility in generating questions and providing concepts for further research. In a realistic sense, however, the Mexican-American minority is faced with two broad strategies to change its present disadvantaged position. One is that to gain equality in a dominant Anglo culture they must learn the Anglo rules and procedures, master them, and "beat the Anglo at his own game." The alternative is the militant cultural pluralist who advocates open rejection of the present society and non-involvement in it as it is now constituted. There is no easy solution of forcing the dominant culture to change its social structure to include this minority simply to benefit the latter. With the tradition of the dominant Anglo society, it appears that there must be a "trade" for such recognition whether it be to marshal enough potential power within that system to force the larger society to give them entry, or to cause the larger society to examine its potential loss should it decide to disregard the disruptive and destructive capabilities of an organized minority. With the former alternative there is a greater hope of maintaining the social and economic resources which could provide the basis for change and development whereas the latter may lead to total equality by reducing the system to ashes and dividing the remains equally. However, in the absence of some well planned bilateral action, there may be no alternative but disruption and open hostility against the "establishment." Illustrating this point, a cabinet level meeting of experts on Mexican-American relations was held in San Antonio, Texas. Since no Mexican-Americans of the poverty class or those directly working with them were formally invited, six Mexican-American representatives from El Paso paid their own way to attend and address that

conference uninvited. One of them proclaimed that while more and more scientific papers were being presented, reproduced, published and distributed, his children and those of his neighbors were still ill-clothed, ill-fed, poorly educated and without a stable income earner in the family. "I have no intention of letting you walk out of here satisfied" he declared, and in the language of his fore-fathers declared further:

> Most of us are immigrantes to this nation-- first or third generation. We decided to abandon our former nation to better ourselves because of the lack of opportunity there. We came to this country which professes to be rich with opportunity. My forefathers and I have not yet encountered it. Perhaps..mañana.[52]

Comparative studies are only the first step to establish the values and social structures extant in each national or ethnic group. These may then be used as a basis for building bridges between them - for channeling opportunities for self betterment to our Mexican neighbors and to our Mexican-American citizens. But our solution will be no better than our skill to define the problem correctly. And our intellectual deliberations will be of no pragmatic utility unless they can be adapted for use within concrete programs to provide these opportunities, not mañana but <u>today</u>. Mañana may be too late...<u>for us all</u>!

FOOTNOTES

*An invitational paper presented at the Conference on Urbanization of the U.S. - Mexican Border, El Paso, Texas, June 15, 1968.

[1]Among some of the more notable studies were Robert Redfield's The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1941), and Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1930), and Oscar Lewis' Tepoztlan Restudied: Life in a Mexican Village (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1951).

[2]Carolyn Zeleny, "Relations Between the Spanish Americans and Anglo Americans in New Mexico: A Study of Conflict and Accommodation in a Duel-Ethnic Situation," (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Yale University, 1944), Ozzie G. Simmons, "Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas," (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1952).

[3]Prior to the 1950 Spanish Surname designation, immigration and nationality was the main focus for population and demographic studies. An example of this type of study is Jose Hernandez Alvarez, "A Demographic Profile of the Mexican Immigration to the United States: 1910-1950," Journal of Inter-American Studies, Vol. 8, pp. 471-496. The U.S. Bureau of Census 1950 designation of Spanish Surname analysis made possible the following:
J. Allan Beegle, Harold F. Goldsmith, and Charles P. Loomis, "Demographic Characteristics of the United States-Mexican Border," Rural Sociology, Vol. 25, (March, 1960), pp. 107-162.
Robert H. Talber, Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West (Texas Christian University, 1955).
Harley L. Browning and L. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas (University of Texas at Austin, 1964).
A recent paperback monograph by Celia S. Heller, Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (Random House, 1966), is a very current and readable analysis of Spanish Surname census materials in a rather unsophisiticated form.

[4]A more detailed outline of this project is contained in the proposal, "Processes of Technological and Social Change in the Inter-Cultural Setting of the Border Areas of the United States," (Michigan State University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1954- mimeographed pamphlet). For a recent review of this Border concentration see Charles P. Loomis, Zona K. Loomis and Jeanne E. Gullahorn, "Linkages of Mexico and the United States," Agr. Exp. Station Research Bulletin #14, (Michigan State University, 1966) pp. 78-83. Especially "Related Research and Dissertations."

[5]As measured by foundation grants, related fellowships, and verbal concensus among experts in the field, the leading Latin American Institutes include those at Columbia University, University of California (Berkeley), University of Texas at Austin, University of Florida and

the University of Wisconsin. As with all rankings, some respected institutes may have been overlooked due to unintended subjectivity.

[6]With the exception of the University of Texas at Austin, schools other than those with leading Latin American Institutes are the ones principally engaged in Border-related research. Foremost of these is the U.C.L.A. Business Administration field research with a dozen Advanced Reports published on demographic and institutional data of Mexican American research principally in California. Following this are less ambitious research efforts at the University of Texas at El Paso, Texas A & M, Notre Dame, San Diego State, Trinity University, and others. For a critical examination of the need for social science research in Latin American studies program see Ellwyn R. Stoddard, "The Contribution of U.S. - Mexican Border Research to the field of Latin American Studies." Paper presented to the Rocky Mountain Conference of Latin American Studies, Lubbock, (April, 1967), to be published in Journal of Inter-American Studies (date pending).

[7]A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society (Free Press, 1952), pp. 113-114.

[8]Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 139.

[9]Robert M. Marsh, Comparative Sociology (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), pp. 24-28.

[10]Ibid., Ch. 2, Appendices I & II, pp. 329-374.

[11]Clyde Kluckhorn, Mirror for Man (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1949-- Premier reprint, Fawcett Publications), p. 16.

[12]Florence Rockwood Kluckhorn and Fred L. Stodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Harper & Row, 1961).

[13]William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form, Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Study in Community Decision-Making (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965).

[14]The authors carefully pointed out that they found the Juarez structure more monolithic than that of El Paso, but less monolithic than they had hypothesized at the commencement of the study.

[15]D'Antonio and Form, op. cit., pp. 218-19. For a detailed analysis of attitudes for cross-national linkages by non-influentials see Charles P. Loomis, et. al.

[16]Perhaps the most encompassing and well documented source of problems dealing with "marginal suburbs" both those in the city centers and especially those surrounding urban metropoli in Latin America is Richard M. Morse, "Recent Research on Latin American Urbanization: A Selective Survey with Commentary," Latin American Research Review, Vol. 1 (Fall, 1965), pp. 35-74.

[17]Richard M. Morse, "Latin American Cities: Aspects of Structures and Functions," Comparative Studies in Society and History, No. 4 (July, 1962), p. 474.

[18]Leonard Cárdenas Jr., "The Municipality in Northern Mexico," Southwestern Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1963).

[19]G. F. Barbosa-DaSilva, "Participation of Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans in Formal Organizations in a Border Town." Paper presented at the National Council on Rural Poverty, Washington, D.C., and "Reference Orientation among Spanish Surnames in a Border City," Proceedings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, New Orleans, 1966.

Consistent with Barboasa-DeSilva's data are those of Browning and McLemore regarding the relative disadvantaged participation rate of the foreign-born immigrant. However, of some concern is their findings that a mixed foreign born-native born parentage is more conducive to assimilation (i.e., higher income) than a person whose parents are both native born. This suggests a structural suppressant on vertical mobility of native born Mexican-Americans. Brown[ing] & McLemore, op. cit., p. 65.

[20]Fernando Penalosa and Edward C. McDonagh, "Social Mobility in a Mexican-American Community," Social Forces, Vol. 44 (June, 1966).

[21]Browning and McLemore, op. cit., p. 64. In a faculty seminar on Mexican-American relations held at U.T. El Paso, April, 1968, Patrick Mcnamara suggested that from research in Los Angeles it appeared that the Mexican-American student was subjected to an Anglo teacher stereotypes. Normal youth experimentation of the teen years, when acted out by Mexican-American students, was associated with "gang behavior."

[22]In a special section on Mexican-American movements at the AAAS meetings, El Paso, April, 1968, Richard Rymer, Trinity University, noted that from his knowledge of militant youth reactions in San Antonio's Mexican-American slums, these reflect the same tactics as employed by SNCC and other Negro militant groups in breaking with the past.

The concepts stressed in this paper would permit such activity as Rymer suggested if the youth were somewhat isolated from their traditional heritage. Obviously, unique circumstances such as these involving the Spanish land-grant claimant Reies Tijerina in Northern New Mexico would not reflect the present generalizations.

[23]James B. Watson and Julian Samora, "Subordinate Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community;" American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (August, 1954), pp. 413-17.

[24]William Eastlake, "Cleaning up Juarez: The View from Pancho's Villa," The Nation (October 1967), pp. 300-303. Called the parachutists (las paracaidistas) because they descend on border communities in hoards, they form these squatter communities on the outskirts of Cd. Juarez. These have a fantastic growth rate, making the hopes of providing them with utilities or educational and health facilities slim indeed.

[25]William H. Form and Julius Rivera, "The Place of Returning Migrants in a Stratification System," Rural Sociology, Vol. 23 (September, 1958), pp. 286-97. Also, Form and Rivera, "Work Contracts and International Evaluations: The Case of a Mexican Border Village," Social Forces (May, 1959), pp. 334-38.

[26]Since formal access to statistics was not available, informal interviews with seventeen expatriates of 1966 were obtained through a sociology graduate whose wife is a citizen of Mexico and who contemplates requesting Mexican citizenship himself in the near future.

[27]Roy A. Clifford, Informal Group Actions in the Rio Grande Flood, A Report to the Committee on Disaster Studies, National Research Council, February, 1955.

[28]Roy A. Clifford, The Rio Grande Flood: A Comparative Study of Border Communities in Disaster. Committee on Disaster Studies Report No. 7, Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council Publication No. 517, 1958.

[29]Ellwyn R. Stoddard, "Catastrophe and Crisis in a Flooded Border Community: An Analytical Approach to Disaster Emergence" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1961).

[30]Ellwyn R. Stoddard, "Organizational Structure and Victim Reaction to Disaster Relief: A Comparative Analysis of the Salvation Army and American Red Cross," Proceedings of the Southwest Sociological Association, Dallas, 1968.

[31]The information for this comparison was obtained by the author from personal interviews of unnamed officials on both sides of the U.S. - Mexican border as a basis for a pending research proposal entitled "An Investigation of Legal Enforcement Problems and Prosecution Procedures on the U.S. - Mexican Border."

This particularistic-universalistic differentiation was documented by Frank C. Nall II, "Role Expectations: A Cross-Cultural Study," Rural Sociology, Vol. 27, pp. 28-41.

[32]"Blue Cards" are issued to Mexican citizens by the INS for a seventy-two hour trip into the United States for business or pleasure, not for work. Travel is restricted to one hundred and fifty miles. "Green Cards" are issued to an alien who intends to reside in the U.S. but who does not have the necessary papers to obtain permanent citizenship. Technically, this does not provide the basis for residence in and commuting daily from Mexico to work in the U.S. Moreover, since 1965 no "green cards" have been issued legally to persons employed in job categories in direct competition with U.S. citizens, such as domestics and day laborers.

[33]Although local INS officials maintain a verbal "hard line" regarding their efforts to uphold the legal statutes controlling Mexican immigration and commuters who work in the United States, the lesser officials who must informally deal with the pressures of

"local interpretation" of the law readily admit that their working policies violate only the "letter of the law," but are in full accord with the "spirit of the law according to local conditions."

One high ranking INS official interviewed blatantly claimed that "there are no illegal maids in El Paso." Yet during this same period a local newspaper account gave the 300 returnees per month figure. "Wholesale Border Card Lifting Denied by INS," El Paso Times, September 30, 1967.

[34]Personal interview with officials at an International Border Crossing, April 14, 1968. This is substantiated by a published account of Mr. Richard Haberstroh, INS District Director before the Select Committee hearings in El Paso in which he suggested that the "shoppers card" (blue card) is issued in Juarez at the rate of 2500-3000 per month and with 75,000 such cards outstanding there are "several thousand" violators of the non-work provisions of the blue card. George Kinsinger, "Opposing Views Heard on Aliens," El Paso Times, January 27, 1968.

[35]Conducted by M.G. Baker, Graduate Student at University of Texas at El Paso, March-April, 1968.

[36]Conclusions concerning prostitution are based upon the excellent work of Chester C. Christian Jr., "Some Sociological Factors in Government Venereal Disease Control" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Texas at Austin, 1961). Due to the political implications of specific data, these generalizations have been purposely left without specific referents of time, location or personalities involved.

[37]Information gathered from local officials of the El Paso Police Department, November, 1967.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Rupert C. Koeninger, "The Law: Rape, Race, Time and Death in Texas," Paper presented at the Southwest Social Science Association meetings, Dallas, April 12, 1968.

[40]Clyde E. Kelsey Jr., John M. Sharp, and Guido A. Barrientos, "Linguistic and Cultural Problems in the Study of Attitudes in the Latin American University," Paper presented at Texas Psychological Association Meetings, December 1-2, 1966. Also, by the same authors, "Preliminary Results of an Attitudinal Study in a Mexican University," Paper presented at the Rocky Mountain Conference of Latin American Studies, El Paso, April, 1966.

[41]The Mexican University is structured vertically by autonomous escuelas within the larger administrative structure of the University. Spanish for engineers is taught within the Engineer escuela. Spanish for medical doctors is taught within a separate escuela. There is little differentiation between undergraduate and graduate level students.

On the other hand, the University in the United States is somewhat more integrated and course offerings are coordinated between the

separate divisions or colleges, whereas the horizontal differentiation between lower division, upper division and graduate student level is more clearly articulated. See Kelsey, et. al., Ibid.

[42]See Ellwyn R. Stoddard, "Freedom Types and Ethnocentric Bias in the Liberal Tradition." The Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal, Vol. 4, No. 2 (October, 1967), especially pp. 26-30.

[43]This ethnocentric terminology for self-identity was brought to the fore when I resided in Argentina from 1947 to 1949. During the early period I referred to myself as an "American" until one acquaintance confided that this was a misnomer inasmuch as Argentines consider themselves equally as "American" as those from the United States of America. Hence, the term "North American" became part of my vernacular to identify all U.S. citizens including myself. Technically, this too is a misnomer inasmuch as Canadians, Mexicans, and U.S. are all "North Americans."

[44]One of the foremost exponents of the multi-group designation of Spanish Speaking Americans is George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1940).

Clark S. Knowlton makes a case for two major distinctions of Spanish Speaking peoples. The rural communities of Northern New Mexico he designates as Spanish American, the El Paso border residents are Mexican-Americans. See Knowlton's "A Comparison of Spanish American and Mexican American Leadership Systems of Northern New Mexico and El Paso," done in conjunction with Sal Ramirez, a paper presented to Texas Academy of Science, December 10, 1965, and "Patron-Peon Pattern Among the Spanish Americans of New Mexico," Social Forces, Vol. 40 (October, 1962), pp. 12-17.

[45]Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," Daedalus (Spring, 1961), pp. 286-299.

[46]These same misperceptions are mirrored by professional scientists involved in inter-ethnic research. Some professionals contend that without extended physical involvement, hunger, and shared poverty, one can never know how the less fortunate really feel. While this may be true, the sharing of these experiences is no guarantee of an objective definition of these problems within the context of an on-going world. Thus, the football player relies on the sideline coach for strategy, and both rely on the universalistic referee for procedures, rules and consequences of the game.

A few social scientists of Mexican-American descent implicitly support the popular stereotype that they alone can understand the minority group because of their membership in it. A similar defense of a privileged position was used by female midwives to avoid competition from male doctors. Expertise is the result of scientific training and precise use of research techniques, not a gift of the embilical chord. Yet, that training gives no guarantee that such expertise will be used beyond contributing to the musty tombs of professional literature. The scientist and engineer roles are both needed, but their purpose and prerequisites should not be confused.

[47]Theodore W. Parsons, "Psycho-Cultural Functions of Ethnic Beliefs." Paper presented at AAAS meeting, El Paso, April, 1968.

[48]Rumaldo Z. Juarez and William P. Kuvlesky, "Ethnic Group Identity and Orentations toward Educational Attainment: A Comparison of Mexican American and Anglo Boys." Paper presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association meeting, Dallas, April, 1968.

[49]David E. Wright and William P. Kuvlesky, "Occupational Status Projections of Mexican American Youth Residing in the Rio Grande Valley." Paper presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association meeting, Dallas, April, 1968.

[50]This partial report is from a three year research project by the author, "The Role of Cultural Values in Work Patterns and Health Practices among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in Selected Border Communities: A Comparative Study," partially financed by the University Research Institute, University of Texas at El Paso.

[51]Informal report of psychological research in Sacramento, California slum areas, by Manuel Ramirez III at an informal faculty seminar on Mexican-American research held in conjunction with the AAAS meetings April, 1968, at the University of Texas at El Paso.

[52]Remarks given by Abelardo Delgado in San Antonio, Texas, April, 1967.